1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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try to prostitute themselves to foreign visitors, and their playmates act as go-betweens.

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Roussel (190, p. 429) speaks with disparagement of the "shameful laziness" of Easter Island girls until they were married. Probably here, as in Mangareva, young people of both sexes lived an easy life until they had to support a family. In the seclusion houses they probably spent their days lying on the ground, composing songs, telling stories, discussing their dreams. Some young men engaged themselves as workmen for a salary consisting of one or two rats and a few sweet potatoes. Others helped the adults to till and plant, but they did not accompany them on fishing parties—probably because they were afraid of spoiling their complexions through exposure to the sun (190, p. 10).

ADOPTION

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Adoption of children has always been widely practiced on Easter Island. Nothing expresses more strikingly the strength of the old custom than the fact that my informant, Victoria Rapahango, who lived many years with an Englishman and bore him several children, gave one of them to an old Italian with whom she was on friendly terms. It is not known to which relatives or friends the children were given formerly; now they are generally entrusted to the godparents. If the child's new parents can feed him, he is given to them a few days after birth; otherwise, he is given after weaning. The adoptive parents treat the child as if he were their own. Roussel (190, p. 466) observes that " . . . the adopted children were put on the same rank as the legitimate. They were entitled to the same care and the same attentions." This attitude continues today.

The child takes the name of his adoptive parents and inherits from them. Much difficulty has arisen in tracing genealogies because adoptive parents will not permit a distinction to be made between their own and adoptive children. "I have raised him and consequently he is my son" is a statement frequently heard on Easter Island. The blood parents take no interest in the children they have given away; they see them rarely and lavish no particular tenderness upon them.

SEXUAL LICENSE

548 554 562

The accounts of early travelers indicate that the first reaction of the natives on the arrival of a ship was to barter food and women. By the first half of the nineteenth century Easter Islanders seem to have built up a regular trade with their women (p. 36). However, the small number of women seen by the navigators makes it evident, as Cook suggests, that most of the feminine population had been hidden somewhere (p. 20). Probably fear was one of the main causes for these precautions, but we may assume that the same sexual freedom was not permitted to all women. Those who were allowed and even

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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548 554 562 urged to prostitute themselves were probably unmarried girls or women belonging to a lower class. Wives of chiefs, priests, or jealous men were probably obliged to remain hidden while visitors stayed on the island.

548 562 837 There has been little change in Easter Island morals. Every foreigner who comes ashore is the object of the most provocative offers on the part of the women, assisted by the men. Prostitution is considered a great source of profit by both sexes and is practiced not only with foreigners but among the natives themselves. An elderly man may have sexual intercourse with girls of 12 or 13 years whom he pays for it. Some women who are no longer attractive take as lovers very young boys to whom they give presents or make an offer to reveal the secrets of sexual life.

831 834 [431] Despite the intense religious feeling of the islanders and the efforts of the catechist, sexual life is extremely free, usually with no restrictions whatever. Apparently love intrigues are short and devoid of sentimental background. Unions between young people are temporary and little jealousy, if any, is shown. Handsome young men who are good dancers are evidently favorites of the women. Gifts play an important part in love affairs.

436 Missionaries allude to the great "immorality" of the natives and complain that the pagan feasts, especially those that lasted a long time, were occasions for great license (230, vol. 6, p. 122). Geiseler (87, p. 29) writes:

> There are many cases of young girls remaining unmarried and belonging to the community, and they were highly valued . . . Even girls betrothed in childhood were to the moment they went to live with their husbands entirely free and might dispose of their persons without provoking scandal. In many instances girls had at least five permanent lovers. With the scarcity of women and the great number of men obliged to remain bachelors, such a condition is easily understood.

838 Pederasty does not appear among adults and no instance of such sexual aberration has been referred to by any inquirer. On the other hand, abnormal sex relationships between women is tolerated and accepted. Such relationships are between middle-aged women who are unattractive to men, and young women whom they have seduced. No other sex abnormalities have been reported.

Marriage

Marriage Laws

582 [835] When asked about marriage restrictions, the islanders would say only that *taina* (cousins) may not marry unless they are *taina haihai* (remote cousins). Relationship between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law was considered incestuous. Degrees of relationship permissible in marriage have been accurately established by Routledge (228, vol. 2, pp. 144-145):

> Brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then

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groom's parents had to pay for the bride and that the amount of the purchase price was the object of lengthy bargaining. On the wedding day a great feast was held at the bride's house and "everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl," was consumed. After this ceremony the bride was taken to the house of her husband.

Purchase price never existed on Easter Island and the apparent discrepancies between these two authors are easily solved by first-hand information obtained from present natives:

> When young people married, the family of the bridegroom gave fowls and food for the feast, but the family of the bride could help by making an earth oven of their own. The husband's father presented food to the wife's father, who gave him more food in return. At the wedding many fowls were killed and eaten. The brothers of the bridegroom's father sometimes helped in bringing food. It is unlikely that the couple to be married helped prepare the banquet.

Even though much of the past has been forgotten, it is obvious that marriage ceremonies were never surrounded by a complicated ritual. When old Viriamo married her first husband " . . . there was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over" (194, p. 227). This was probably an exception. Normal weddings required the celebration of a feast with the usual distribution of food. Probably most of the food consumed on this occasion was supplied by the family of the bridegroom, but the bride's family contributed its share. The food was accumulated around a conical stage made of a bundle of *hau* poles (190, p. 466), evidently similar to the conical *akari* of the Maori which served the same purpose (20, vol. 1, p. 381). The young married couple presided at the feast and took part in the meal. After all the food was eaten, the marriage was considered valid (190, p. 466).

Status of Women

Modern Easter Island women seem to be well treated and to have considerable influence. They insist on expressing their opinions in all discussions but probably would not dare to resist openly the will of their husbands. Tepano's wife, Maria Ika, was in our employ but left because her husband wished her to do so. She expressed her regret but said, "I am a woman, I must always obey." I know of numerous women who were beaten because of disobedience.

Most family troubles I heard of were provoked by the infidelity of the husband and the anger of the wife. However, there are some couples with equal and mutual love. A particularly striking example of conjugal fidelity and affection is that of Rosario Arencibe Teao who followed her husband into the leper settlement when he was confined there. At the time she entered the settlement she was in perfect health, but she contracted the disease many years later.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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152 593 years later. Conjugal love is expressed in the following legend, given by the natives as a true story:

A man from Tahai married a girl from Vai-mata and returned with her to Tahai. There they lived and every day the man went out in his canoe to fish *pei* and tuna which he sent to his father-in-law at Vai-mata. The woman became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter.

There was a famine in the country and the father of the girl came from Vai-mata to stay at Tahai in her house. Tuna and other fish were their only food. On the seventh day the father said to his daughter, "Have you always the same food?" The girl answered, "Yes, there isn't anything else to eat." The husband was then out fishing and the father said to his daughter, "Come with me." The girl said, "All right," and they left together. Many times she tried to go back to her husband but her father made her continue on until they came to Vai-turu where there were plenty of sweet potatoes. The father said, "This is the reason I took you away. Go and enter the house where I live. Light the earth oven and dig out the sweet potatoes and cook them." The girl wept for her child whom she had left behind but she remained and lived with her father.

The husband had seen his wife and her father leave. He immediately came ashore and went to his house. He asked his daughter, "Where is your mother?" "She left with her father," replied the girl. The father told her to get out of the house so that he could close it. The girl left and shut the door. Her father cried, "Look at the house, my daughter, don't open it." He lay down inside, sorrowing because his wife had been taken from him. He stayed in the house without eating for two days and nights and died because he was filled with grief for his wife.

593 Native women who have lived with foreigners complain that native husbands or lovers are often rude and cruel and declare openly that they prefer white men "not only because they are wealthier but also because they are nicer."

562 593 I suppose that most of the details obtained by Thomson and Cooke during the short time they were on Easter Island were given to them by Salmon. Thus the information may be trustworthy. Cooke (54, p. 716) says that "the women were a source of great solicitude and that much consideration was shown them. . . . They are fairly well taken care of, and treated generally with kindness, not to say affection." There is perhaps some exaggeration in his statement, but the preponderance of the male over the female at that time may have contributed to giving the women an exceptional position.

593 In bartering for archaeological specimens I noted that the men generally wanted to have clothes or necklaces for their wives. Former visitors made the same observation and reported that the natives, when presented with gifts, never forgot their wives and children.

462 562 Women do little work. They keep the house in order, cook, help to harvest tubers, and go fishing along the shore. Tilling of the soil is, and was in olden times, a man's activity, and the woman's part in cultivating is secondary. The economic activities of women a few years after the coming of the white men are enumerated by Roussel (190, p. 430) as follows: "The woman must get the sweet potatoes and the wood and grass to cook them. Woe to her if she does not take good care of her housekeeping; she may suffer for her negli-

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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gence. She must also beat and dew barkcloth." Plaiting and tapa making should be mentioned among the woman's industries. Contrary to Geiseler's statement (87, p. 41) women never made nets (190, p. 430).

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Misled by their preconceived ideas regarding the status of women in primitive societies, the missionaries assumed that before the introduction of Christianity the Easter Island women were drudges. The only recorded instance in which a woman was submitted to drudgery is that in which a chief named Manu walked carefree while his wife bent double under a heavy load. When the missionary remonstrated, the chief answered, "That is woman's work. He appeared very much ashamed when the missionary compelled him to help with his wife's burden (230, vol. 6, p. 124).

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As the general tendency of missionaries is to depict the character of the natives in the darkest colors in order to stress the benefits of their own influence, the mistreatment of women which they report so complacently cannot be accepted as entirely true. Roussel (190, p. 430) says with indignation: "How many times have I not seen husbands striking their wives with a knife on the face or head with the intention of killing or mutilating them!" Such brutalities occur occasionally at present but are not typical of the ordinary behavior of men toward their wives.

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Strict separation of sexes during meals does not seem to have been enforced on Easter Island, at least in daily life. Perhaps chiefs or priests ate apart as is testified by the passage below and by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p 124) who alludes to the fact that sometimes no place was reserved for women at banquets. Roussel (190, p. 430) says:

> No tapu prevents men and women from eating together or with their children of either sex, but the husband, being the strongest, always gets the choicest parts. He must be very much attached to his wife or children before he will give them an equal portion or even leave any portion for them if he is eating chicken or fish. Some husbands receive their food separately.

Divorce

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Viriamo was married three times during her long life. She left her first husband who was unsatisfactory and went to live with a Miru man in Anakena. Her third husband was a Tupa-hotu, the father of Tepano. The apparent ease with which she left her first husband suggests that marriage ties were not very strong in the old days. Testimony of the early missionaries verifies this. "The slightest disagreement or disgust between the consorts was sufficient to break the ties that united them" (190, p. 466). "The islanders of Rapa-nui do not consider marriage as an unbreakable tie. Husband and wife were allowed to part by common consent" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). "Divorce in general was very simple. When the husband said to his wife that he did not want her any more, the separation was made. The wife had the same right as her husband" (87, p. 29).

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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board of the two vessels; we found them very straightforward and agreeable, most of them brought plantains, roots, chickens, &c., and readily offered the wretched scraps of clothing and other goods they had about them, until reduced to a miserable loin-cloth of fibre or cotton or some such stuff, with a diadem or crown or plume of cock's feathers or dried sea-weed. The women use the same garments, and, by way of distinguishing their sex, cover the head with a curious construction of palm-leaf [*ojas*] or fine rushes. They are, like the men, importunate at begging; but they all of them yield with the same frankness whatever they possess, and the women go to the length of offering with inviting demonstrations all the homage that an impassioned man can desire. Nor do they appear to transgress, in this, in the opinion of their men; for the latter even tender them by way of paying us attention. As we had no opportunity of enquiring into the methods they observe in regard to marital affairs [*propagacion*] it can only be inferred that the women whom we saw are held in common among them, although we noticed that the older and more important men retain some preference in the matter, as these are always the ones who accompany and make offer of them, and to whom the women render obedience, and not to the younger men, with whom we have never seen them in company. So that one notices a more modest behaviour among the youths and young women than among the elders.

The girls are by temperament modest, since with all their nudity they always manage to cover the breasts &c. as much as possible. The women we saw were much fewer in number than the men; from which it may be supposed that they make use of them in common, or hold their alliances secret, and I think that the more likely because on the afternoon when we came ashore, when passing near to a small hut, we saw some eight women or so all youthful

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

461 to lie around and gossip, to smoke, to sit and "moon" over the industry, the greatness, and the monuments of his ancestors, the degeneracy and decadence of his race, perhaps, and his own utter and ineradicable worthlessness individually. Natural covetousness and desire for the possession of lucre may tempt him to serve the white man for a time, but he soon tires of his work, which speedily becomes irksome to him. And while he may exert himself a trifle occasionally, in the way of fishing, or in the cultivation of an 8 by 10 patch of sugar cane, taro, and sweet potato, it is only as a matter of necessity, to keep body and soul together, and he infinitely prefers idleness and the enjoyment of his *dolce far niente*.

273 Intoxicating drinks of any description, even kava, so common in the islands to the westward, are unknown to these people, and neither do Mr. Salmon, or the other foreign residents, keep any liquors in their possession. While, therefore, it is true that here, as elsewhere among uncivilized peoples, contact with the European has been attended by their gradual extinction, it can not be said that all the usual factors obtain in this instance, since neither the venereal poison nor intoxicants exist on the island. Consequently, these can not be assigned as causes of the decadence of the Rapa Nuis. Deportation, forced and voluntary, 161 smallpox, and customs, elsewhere mentioned in this paper, will explain their gradual extinction, in part, at least, while the fact remains that their seemingly inevitable destiny was vastly accelerated when the white man set foot upon their mysterious, mid-ocean island.

304 The rite of circumcision, so common in the other islands, is unknown here, nor does their language possess an equivalent word.

162 As may be inferred from the preponderance of the male over the female portion of the community the latter are in demand, and the sup-562 ply not being equal to it, the women are a source of great solicitude; much 595 consideration is shown them; they are fairly well taken care of, and 589 are treated, generally, with kindness, not to say affection. Polygamy, under the circumstances, does not, of course, exist and celibacy, it may be said, only from necessity, since there are not enough females.

595 While it can not be truthfully claimed that polyandry, in the strict acceptation of the term, obtains among them, they have a custom which very nearly approaches that practice, as will appear presently.

584 At the present day the ceremonies of the church, measurably at least, govern their marriages; nevertheless the ancient custom still prevails, to a considerable extent, and in a few words it is this: When a boy arrives at the age of, say 12 years, his father looks about him for a suitable life-companion, of the opposite sex, for the young hopeful. Having discovered one to his liking the father proceeds to interview the parents of the damsel, who is perhaps of the same age, or more 584 likely younger than her prospective lord, declares his intentions matri-583 monial and negotiations are then entered into. After a due amount of haggling as to the value of the girl, during which the parents of the